

Message Text

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12/20

ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-07 ISO-00 ACDA-07 SP-02 SS-15

ERDA-05 AF-08 ARA-06 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

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FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2889

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

USMISSION GENEVA

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USUN NEW YORK 2279

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 15289

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (PARA 2 GARBLED)

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: JA, UNGA, PARM

SUBJECT: THE KARUIZAWA INITIATIVE - RECENT JAPANESE THINKING ON
ARMS CONTROL

REF: A) USUN 4129, B) STATE 250826, C) TOKYO 9600 (NOTAL),
D) TOKYO 10553 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: AS NOTED BY USUN IN REF A, JAPAN'S FOREIGN MINISTER
WAS AMONG THOSE AT THIS YEAR'S UNGA WHO CALLED FOR LIMITATIONS
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ON CONVENTIONAL-ARMS TRANSFERS. JAPAN'S INTEREST IN THIS
PARTICULAR FIELD OF ARMS CONTROL IS OF RECENT ORIGIN AND
DIRECTLY ATTRIBUTABLE TO FORMER FONMIN MIYAZAWA. ANY
IMMEDIATE FOLLOW-UP TO FONMIN'S SPEECH IS LIKELY TO BE

MODEST IN BOTH SCOPE AND NATURE; JAPAN DOES NOT YET HAVE SPECIFIC MAJOR PROPOSALS IN MIND. NEW TO THIS PROBLEM AND AWARE OF ITS COMPLEXITIES, FONOFF DISARMAMENT SPECIALISTS HOPE TO CONSULT INFORMALLY WITH U.S. AND OTHER NATIONS AS TO APPROPRIATE COURSE OF ACTION. END SUMMARY.

1. AMONG THE HIGHLIGHTS OF FONMIN KOSAKA'S ADDRESS BEFORE THIS YEAR'S UNGA WAS HIS DECLARATION THAT "THE TIME HAS COME TO SEEK FEASIBLE WAYS TO FORMULATE INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS ON THE TRANSFER OF WEAPONS TO AVOID ENCOURAGING INTERNATIONAL CONFLICTS." KOSAKA'S STATEMENT BROKE NEW GROUND FOR JAPAN -- ALTHOUGH JAPAN HAD LONG RESTRICTED ITS OWN ARMS EXPORTS, PREVIOUSLY IT HAD NOT BEEN ACTIVE IN SEEKING INTERNATIONAL LIMITATIONS ON CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFERS. FONOFF DISARMAMENT DIVDIR WATANABE HAS SINCE PROVIDED EMBASSY WITH FOLLOWING BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON HOW GOJ CAME TO DEVELOP THIS NEW POLICY, WHICH MAY BE OF USE TO DEPARTMENT AND USUN IN ASSESSING SERIOUSNESS WITH WHICH JAPANESE VIEW THIS ISSUE. (REF B.)

2. POLICY OUT OF THE BLUE SKY - DIET RATIFICATION OF THE NPT EARLIER THIS YEAR BROUGHT FORTH CONSIDERABLE JAPANESE PRESS SPECULATION THAT GOJ WOULD NOW LAUNCH NEW DISARMAMENT INITIATIVES. WHILE MUCH OF THIS SPECULATION WAS OVERDRAWN, IT WAS NEVERTHELESS TRUE THAT RESOLUTION OF NPT QUESTION, COMING ONLY AFTER LONG AND ARDUOUS POLITICAL MANUEVERING, ENABLE FONOFF TO SPEAK WITH GREATER CONFIDENCE AND AUTHORITY ON DISARMAMENT MATTERS. AS OUTLINED TO EMBASSY BY FONOFF AT THAT TIME, JAPAN'S IMMEDIATE POST-NPT GOALS WERE DEVELOPMENT OF INTERIM STEPS TOWARDS COMPREHENSIVE NUCLEAR TEST BAN AND ACHIEVEMENT OF CHEMICAL-WEAPONS-BAN AGREEMENT (REF C).

3. ALTHOUGH THEN-FONMIN MIYQAWA SHARED THESE GOALS, HE APPARENTLY WAS ALSO PERSONALLY CONCERNED OVER CONFIDENTIAL

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INCREASING FLOW OF CONVENTIONAL ARMS TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. IN HIS JULY MEETING WITH SENATOR MANSFIELD, MIYAZAWA STATED HIS BELIEF THAT MASSIVE ARMS SHIPMENTS, PARTICULARLY THOSE TO OIL-RICH COUNTRIES, SHOULD BE CURBED. (REF D).

4. IN LAST WEEK OF AUGUST, FONOFF WORKING LEVELS SUBMITTED TO MIYAZAWA PROPOSED DRAFT FOR HIS UNGA SPEECH. ACCORDING TO WATANABE, MIYAZAWA TOOK THIS DRAFT WITH HIM TO KARUIZAWA RESORT, FOR WEEKEND, WHERE HE TOTALLY BLUE-PENCILLED FONOFF DRAFT, SHIFTING FOCUS TO RESTATEMENT OF JAPAN' REJECTION OF MILITARY FORCE AND ITS COMMITMENT TO DISARMAMENT. NEW DRAFT

EMPHASIZED NEED TO LIMIT CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFERS (THUS, WATANABE NOTED, JAPAN'S NEW INTEREST IN RESTRAINING INTERNATIONAL ARMS TRADE "CAME OUT OF THE BLUE SKY OF KARUIZAWA").

5. MIYAZAWA'S MAJOR CHANGES IN UNGA SPEECH INITIALLY CAUSED SOME CHAGRIN WITHIN FONOFF AS IT REPRESENTED REVERSAL OF NORMAL JAPANESE PROCEDURE - TO FLOAT NEW PROPOSALS SLOWLY UP FROM WORKING LEVELS TO TOP. NEVERTHELESS, AS SPEECH WAS RE-WORKED WITHIN FONOFF, MIYAZAWA'S BASIC IDEAS WON INCREASING BEAUCRATIC SUPPORT. WHEN MIYAZAWA WAS REPLACED BY KOSAKA IN CABINET RESHUFFLE ONLY DAYS BEFORE OPENING OF UNGA, ARMS CONTROL PORTIONS OF SPEECH REMAINED INTACT. FROM HIS COMMENTS TO JAPANESE PRESS IN NEW YORK, KOSAKA HAS APPARENTLY ADOPTED MIYAZAWA'S IDEAS ON ARMS CONTROL AS HIS OWN.

6. WHERE TO GO FROM HERE - WATANABE STATED THAT GOJ DID NOT YET HAVE ANY SPECIFIC PROPOSAL IN MIND REGARDING LIMITATION OF CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFERS. FONOFF WAS WELL AWARE OF DIFFICULTIES INVOLVED IN LIMITING ARMS TRADE AND WATANABE EXPECTED THAT ANY IMMEDIATE FOLLOW-UP TO KOSAKA SPEECH WOULD BE "MODEST" IN BOTH SCOPE AND NATURE. HE SUGGESTED GOJ MIGHT INITIALLY INTRODUCE UN RESOLUTION REQUIRING ARMS EXPORTERS TO FURNISH SECRETARY GENERAL WITH SPECIFIC DATA ON THEIR ARMS TRANSACTIONS - "INFORMATION OF THE CONFIDENTIAL

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SORT ONLY THE USG NOW MAKES AVAILABLE."

7. WATANABE COMMENTED THAT DURING DRAFTING OF UNGA SPEECH, FONOFF DISARMAMENT SPECIALISTS HAD CAREFULLY STUDIED U.S. AMBASSADOR MARTIN'S SPEECH ON PROBLEMS OF CONVENTIONAL ARMS AT CCD IN APRIL 1975. FONOFF WAS PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN POSSIBILITY OF REGIONAL ARRANGEMENTS AS MEANS TO CONTROL ARMS IMPORTS, SUCH AS 1974 LATIN AMERICAN DECLARATION OF AYACUCHO. WATANABE RECOGNIZED THAT INITIATIVE FOR SUCH ARRANGEMENTS MUST COME PRIMARILY FROM WITHIN REGION ITSELF AND THAT SUCH AREAS AS PERSIAN GULF POSED UNIQUELY DIFFICULT SET OF PROBLEMS.

8. WATANABE HAD HIGH PRAISE FOR WORK OF U.S. EXPERT DR. ABRAHAM BECKER IN UN STUDY ON MEASUREMENT AND VERIFICATION OF MILITARY EXPENDITURES. HE SUGGESTED THAT FURTHER REFINEMENT OF UN STUDY WOULD PROVIDE "MOST USEFUL TOOL" IN CONSIDERING POSSIBLE LIMITATION OF ARMS TRANSFERS.

9. WATANABE NOTED THAT THIRD WORLD RECIPIENTS OF ARMS

OFTEN OPPOSED IMPOSITION OF CONTROLS. CONSEQUENTLY, FONOFF WAS ENCOURAGED BY SINGAPORE FONMIN'S ATTACK ON INDISCRIMINATE ARMS TRADE AT UNGA AND HOPED THAT OTHER THIRD WORLD NATIONS MIGHT FOLLOW SUIT.

10. ACCORDING TO WATANABE, JAPAN HAD NOT YET CONSULTED WITH OTHER NATIONS ON THIS QUESTION BEYOND CORRIDOR CONVERSATIONS AT UN IN MOST GENERAL TERMS. HE EXPRESSED HOPE THAT FONOFF SPECIALISTS WOULD BE ABLE TO DISCUSS INFORMALLY CONVENTIONAL-ARMS MATTERS WITH U.S. AND WEST EUROPEAN EXPERTS AT SOMETIME IN NEAR FUTURE. AT SEVERAL POINTS IN CONVERSATION, WATANABE REITERATED IMPORTANCE OF COOPERATION BETWEEN WESTERN NATIONS ON THIS ISSUE. HE TOOK SPECIAL NOTE OF IMPORTANCE THAT ANY ARMS-CONTROL INITIATIVE NOT JEOPARDIZE SECURITY REQUIREMENTS OF JAPAN OR ITS ALLIES.

11. COMMENT: IT WAS APPARENT FROM WATANABE'S COMMENTS THAT, HAVING ADDRESSED NEED TO LIMIT CONVENTIONAL ARMS
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TRANSFERS IN GENERAL TERMS IN KOSAKA SPEECH, FONOFF IS NOW UNCERTAIN AS TO SPECIFICS OF APPROPRIATE FOLLOW-UP. GIVEN JAPAN'S LONG RECORD AS STEADY AND RESPONSIBLE ARMS CONTROL ADVOCATE AT GENEVA CCD, WE CAN EXPECT THAT, DESPITE RELATIVELY SUDDEN AND UN-JAPANESE MANNER IN WHICH POLICY WAS DEVELOPED, GOJ WILL APPROACH THIS ISSUE WITH CUSTOMARY CARE AND SERIOUSNESS. SIMILARLY, GOJ IS LIKELY TO SEEK TO WORK IN CLOSE CONCERT WITH U.S. AS IN PAST, THOUGH U.S. AND JAPANESE PERSPECTIVES ON THIS PROBLEM MAY WELL DIFFER IN REGARDS TO SPECIFIC CASES. EARLY EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WITH JAPANESE ON CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFERS WOULD BE PARTICULARLY USEFUL WHILE JAPANESE THINKING ON SUBJECT IS STILL IN FORMATIVE STAGE.
HODGSON

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